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A CALL TO WORKMEN

To Take Part in the St. Louis Municipal Campaign—The Issues Defined.

To the readers of The People and Workmen of St. Louis in general: At the next city election to be held in St. Louis on Tuesday, April 6, 1903, you will again be called upon to exercise your right of franchise. A variety of political parties will ask you to vote for them. Among them is the Socialist Labor Party, which again calls your attention to the fact that in society as it exists to-day, there is a big capitalist class that robs you, there is a little capitalist class that robs you, and that you are being robbed by these two sets of robbers whether under Republican, Democratic, or so-called Reform parties rule.

The big capitalist class is composed of those who own the most important means of production and distribution, i. e., mines, mills, factories, elevators, granaries, ships, railroads, etc. They take no part in production, but appropriate to themselves the largest share of what the working class produces. The members of this class are the principal promoters of a money-making scheme that is being launched here, which is known as the World's Fair. In this city their interest is being looked after by the Republican and Democratic parties, whose object it is to again get control of the city government and use that government to advance and protect the interest of the capitalist class against the interest of the working class.

You may cry for proof. Does not the proof of the pudding lie in the eating of it? During the late street car-men's strike, were you not forced to eat a lead pudding shot from the rifles of the deputy sheriffs by orders of a Democratic police force and a Republican mayor?

Right here it may not be amiss to draw your attention to the fact that amongst these deputy sheriffs there was one by the name of G. A. Hoch, a member of the Social Democratic, alias Socialist party, a party that in the State of California fused with a fakir-led "Union Labor" party which, in turn, fused with the Democratic party. Turn down this set of robbers by voting the ticket of the Socialist Labor Party.

The next set of robbers that we have to deal with is the middle class, the small skinners, the very small manufacturers, the man with the one horse shoe repair shop, the two by four store keepers, all of those who have a peck of potatoes, a pint of molasses, a bag of flour, or a ten cent broom to sell, all the small skinners of the working class. This middle class is in a peculiar position. It is robbed by the big capitalist class, but at the same time it robs all of those who are beneath it in the economic scale, namely, the working class.

It is because its steedings must be divided with the big capitalist class that it is so much the more merciless in its treatment of the working class.

While it upholds capitalism and wage-slavery, it is at war with the highest development of capitalism, the various industrial combinations known as the trust.

The middle class is blind to the conditions that created the department store, and other commercial and industrial concentrations, and seeks to further its interest by anti-department store and anti-trust legislation. The members of the middle class feel themselves crushed to death by the burden of taxation that the large capitalist class succeeds in avoiding. They groan beneath the exactions of the great railroads, telegraphs, telephones, street car, gas and electric light companies, and imagine that if only these industries could be made to bear a portion of the burden of taxation, while the rest of service would be reduced to them, this little property might remain to them a few years longer. So they cry out for "municipal ownership" of what they please to term "public utility."

In this city they are rallying around what is known as "The public Ownership" and the bogus "Socialist" parties, with a view of capturing the machinery of the city government and use it to enact laws that will advance and protect their class interest. The laws that they propose to enact are known as "reforms."

These proposed reforms would be of little interest to the Socialist Labor Party, were it not for the fact that they are invariably set forth as being in the interest of the working class. These middle class skinners see that the ownership of street cars, gas works, etc., are a good thing for the few men who own them. As a result they reason thus: "Now, if the city owned these public utilities, the profits, instead of going into the pockets of a few big capitalists would go into the city treasury and we the middle class would not have to pay any taxes. We would reap the benefits of the profits instead of their flowing into the pockets of the big capitalist class." Do you see the point, fellow workmen? They want to reap the benefits of the profits. If profits are to be made that means that the working class must continue to be taxed out of a great part of the wealth

that they produce. As a result you will be no better off than you were before.

Another claim that these middle class skinners put forth is that they want to bring about reform a step at a time. What they really mean is that they want to advance the interest of their class a step at the time, and if possible overthrow the big capitalist class, so that they, the middle class, maybe come the only and dominant class to rob you.

There is no set of skinners like the middle class skinners. If there is one class that hates and despises the working class, it is these middle class vultures. All through the history of the past these middle class skinners have used the working class as a stepping stone to advance their interest. During the period of the eighteenth century we find the middle class laughing at the working class for trying to smash the machines. To-day we see that some middle class trying to smash those more improved tools of production known as combinations and trusts, and failing in that, they want to make them public property, and use them to rob the working class through the capitalist government. What difference does it make to you fellow workmen whether you are robbed by a private capitalist as through the capitalist system? Turn down these middle class skinners by casting your vote for the Socialist Labor Party, whose motto is, "Down with the big robber class. Down with the little owner class. Up with the working class."

The Socialist Labor Party wants the working class to own and control the government, that government in turn to own and control all "public utilities," and use them not to reduce taxes, but to reduce the hours of labor in accordance with the progress of production, and emancipate the working class from wage slavery by giving them the full products of their toil, a system under which everybody will have to work or starve. This means a revolution.

At the close of the eighteenth century, and the first part of the nineteenth century, the capitalist class was in most countries under the rule of the landed interests. The old landlords, known as the feudal barons, held the reins of power. The rising capitalist class was trying to obtain that power for their own use. The working class had just been shut off from the land by changes in the methods of cultivation and were becoming attached to the capitalist class as wage workers. The capitalists saw in these wage workers a convenient weapon with which to accomplish their purpose of overthrowing the landlords.

The capitalist class succeeded in getting the franchise for their wage slaves, who in turn used it to overthrow the landlords by voting for their capitalist master. — was the beginning of the capitalist system. The overthrow of the feudal system and the enthronement of capitalism was a revolution. Under feudalism the working class were the slaves of the feudal lords. To-day they are slaves of the capitalist class.

Now, the Socialist Labor Party is organizing the working class for a revolution. It wants the working class to get possession of the law making powers and then wield that power in the interest of their class against the interest of every other class. It wants to establish socialism in lieu of capitalism. It wants to abolish slavery in all its forms and establish a republic of free men, free because they will collectively own the things necessary to make a living with. This is the socialist revolution.

We have now made it plain to you what socialism is and what the Socialist Labor Party is after. It is up to you to help us. Are you doing it? The revolution will not be brought about by merely voting the Social Labor Party ticket, or reading the People and throwing it aside with the remark that "Smith made a — good speech." It will not be brought about by staying at home with you wives and children whom you are trying to keep alive on eight dollars a week. It will not be brought about by continuous whining and shouting of your horn about the capitalist. The revolution will only come as a result of the hard work by the working class themselves. In this campaign there will be plenty of work to do. There is literature to be distributed, signatures to be gathered, and thousand and one other things. If you want to join us or aid us in any other way then give us a call at our headquarters, 307 1/2 Pine street, room No. 6, second floor, where we meet every Monday and Thursday night. If you come there don't expect to see a lot of so-called good fellows such as saloon keepers, broken down actors, bum lawyers, middle class storekeepers, labor fakirs, pullers-in for capitalist lodges, whiskey soaked Gesangverein professors or out of a job sky pilots. What you will see is a group of plain everyday workingmen, with good sound sense. Men who defy any capitalist or his lieutenants to refute their arguments. Men who are robbed, starved, and abused every day in the mines, mills, and factories, the same as you are. Men who are slaves but not willing slaves. Men who are organized to overthrow their oppressors. Will you give us a lift?

John Shafer of Shafer & Barry said yesterday:

"Our men quit work this morning.

We expected they would. We have waited on several times by representatives of the union and they demanded that we lay Potter off until the proceedings in court are finished.

The union asked us to do an act that would certainly be detrimental to our business. We do not want to do anything that will be in any way antagonistic to organized labor, but it is simply impossible for us to grant this demand.

Potter when expelled by the union was laid off by us with one day's notice.

Now that the court has ordered him reinstated and restored to his former position in the union, we will not lay him off again unless the final decision of the court is adverse to him. If the court decides that he is not a union man we will discharge him, but not before."

The plan of Potter's attorneys is not

to arrest anybody for contempt, but to

call the attention of the court to the

fact that the union is disobeying its

order which directs the union shall accept and receive Potter as a member.

They say that as these men have stopped work confessedly because at the meeting Friday night they were directed so to do and to remain out of employment of Shafer & Barry until

Potter is discharged, it places them directly in contempt. It is said an effort will be made to shut the union out of court entirely until it has obeyed the temporary injunction. Persons disobeying the order of the court have no standing in the court. Argument for and against making the temporary injunction permanent is set down to

THE POTTER STRIKE

ACTION OF PAINTERS AGAINST SOLDIERS CAUSING FUROR.

They Claim He Is a Non-Union Man—Firm Won't Discharge Militiaman—Injunction He Got Against Union to be Argued Next Week.

Schenectady, N. Y., Jan. 4.—The action of the painters and decorators employed by Shafer & Barry in striking yesterday morning because the firm refused either to lay off William Potter, the National Guardsman, pending the settlement of his case in court, or to compel him to make application for membership in the union, is attracting great attention. Although only eight men went on strike the bosses are worked up as they thought the matter was all settled.

The strike order took the form of a resolution adopted by Painters and Decorators' Union No. 62, at a meeting Friday night, to the effect that the painters in this city should work in no shop which employed non-union men. The union holds that Potter is not a union man; therefore, the resolution was practically an order to those employed by Shafer & Barry to strike. The Supreme Court had just directed the union to recognize the guardsman as a member pending argument to the injunction permanent. Dennis Downey, president of the local union, made the following statement:

"No strike has been declared at Shafer & Barry's or anywhere else, but in compliance with the resolution adopted the painters employed by the firm mentioned would not go to work yesterday morning because William Potter is not a union man. At the time of his expulsion from the union he was not a journeyman, and a card was never issued to him as such. The records of the union show that he was an apprentice boy, which entitled to a seat in the union but gave him no voice in its affairs.

"According to his own affidavit recently made he ceased to be an apprentice boy in 1901 and then became a journeyman. In view of the fact that he is now a journeyman he must be regarded as a non-union man, as he has not and never had a card, has never made application for membership and still refuses to do so. At the time of the hearing of the case in court in Troy he was present with an application blank by William Applyby, the treasurer of the union, and requested to fill out the name and send it into the union at or before the regular meeting to be held January 2. He did not comply with the request.

"Mr. Hendrick, the first vice-president of the International Union, was in this city last Monday, and after holding a conference with the executive board of the local, called on Shafer & Barry with a view of settling the matter. He requested them to have Potter make application for membership or lay him off pending the adjudication of the case in court. They refused and the matter lay open until Friday night, when the union took action."

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S. L. P. VOTE OF 1902.

States	1902	1900
California	207	181
Colorado	1,849	714
Connecticut	90	908
Illinois	8,235	1,373
Indiana	1,756	692
Massachusetts	6,079	2,610
Michigan	1,282	908
Missouri	2,570	1,320
New Jersey	999	1,204
New York	19,118	2,074
Ohio	15,886	12,622
Pennsylvania	2,983	1,688
Rhode Island	5,262	2,936
Texas	1,283	1,423
Virginia	137	169
Washington	834	1,066
	791	531
Totals.	52,805	32,964

The following observations will aid in the understanding of the above table:

This year the S. L. P. had a ticket in the above 19 States. In these States the party polled this year 32,805 as against 32,964 in the same States in 1900—a gain of 19,031. In 1900 the S. L. P. had tickets also in Arizona 64 votes, Georgia 24 votes, Iowa 116 votes, Maryland 33 votes, Montana 285 votes and Utah 106 votes—an aggregate of 1233. The total S. L. P. vote in 1900 was 34,101. This year's vote of 52,805 marks accordingly, an increase over a more limited area.

As to Pennsylvania, the "official returns for the Socialist Labor Party" give 5157 votes. But this figure is not accurate as the S. L. P. vote. After the ticket was nominated, the nominee for governor joined an intrigue conducted by just a bakers' dozen in Allegheny county to commit piracy upon the party. He was thereupon repudiated by the party organization in the State and Jackson set up in his stead. This, however, happened so late an hour that it was impossible to notify the constituency of Pennsylvania to strike him off the S. L. P. ballot and vote for Jackson. As a result only 128 votes were cast for Jackson, according to the reports that have run in here. This Jackson vote is not included in the 5157 S. L. P. votes given in the official returns of Pennsylvania. It is swallowed up among the "scattering." On the other hand, the vote cast by the 13 Pittsburgh intrigues, and which is included in the 5157, does not belong there. Expelled by the party and left in the cold by those whom they at first succeeded in imposing upon, their votes must also be expelled from the S. L. P. total. Accordingly, deducting from the 5157 these 13 and adding the 129 Jackson votes, the corrected total is, as stated in the above table 5262.

The vote given for California, Texas and Virginia is a local vote. As to Texas it is subject to increase.

take place before Justice Howard in the Supreme Court in Troy on January 12.

William Potter was at work yesterday afternoon for Shafer & Barry at 518 Summit avenue. He had not heard of the resolution adopted by the local union. He said:

"I was in hope, for the sake of all interested that no further action would be taken in this matter until it was settled in court. I want it understood that I am in no sense opposed to organized labor. I am willing to sign an application and become a member of the union, but I do not propose to resign my place in the militia to become a member of the union. I insist that is the right of every man to become a member of the militia if he so desires, and I intend to stay in the militia until my term of enlistment expires. Then if I want to re-enlist I shall do so."

When asked if he had been requested to fill out an application blank for the union, he said:

"At the time of the hearing in Troy, the treasurer of the union came to me in the court room and offered me a paper. I refused to accept it and referred it to Mr. Grupe of the firm of Yates & Grupe, my counsel. I subsequently learned that it was an application blank. I wish to go on record as saying that I will fill out an application now or at any future time if they will consent to strike from the blank form the clause relating to the militia."

Labor and National Guard.

New Haven, Conn., Jan. 4.—Col. N. G. Osborn, editor of the New Haven Evening Register, last night talked this way to the members of trade organizations who are opposed to enlistment in the National Guard:

"If the resignation of Lieut. Walker from the Second Regiment because of his membership in a union represented the real feeling of the union men in this city things would have come to a sorry pass. The preservation of order and protection of property are as important to the laboring man as to the factory owner, and unless trades union wishes to stand for lawlessness and disorder it cannot justify the action of any of its members in refusing to serve in the militia. But the fact should not be forgotten by all union men that they can hardly expect the sympathy and good will of a community to which they avowedly repudiate any responsibilities and to the protection of whose property and order they are openly hostile."

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A CRITICISM OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

BY KARL KAUTSKY, WITH SOME CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE PROPER DEFINITION OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

If we look up the Socialist movement in this country as it was several years ago and compare it with the present, we will find a striking difference between then and now, a difference so apparent that it cannot escape even him who only keeps up the relationship of a sympathizer towards the S. L. P.

That such a comparison shows progress is openly admitted by everyone who knows a little more than the A.C. of Socialism; he is friend or enemy. However, there are some who admit this fact, but still question some moves which are, if closely examined, seen to be nothing else but conditions that either are causes or the natural results of that progress.

Considering these facts, we must ask why it is that those progressive steps were not made long ago?—and why is it that some who are very familiar with the movement still doubt the correctness of those steps?

As to the first question, it will be explained if we can show that the fault is with some of our most prominent literature; however, that will not answer the second question fully, for among those who are doubting Thomas are many who are quite able to judge events by facts, and such would never allow themselves to be permanently misled by words. Perhaps in looking up our literature we may also find the key to the answer for the second question.

Another strange question must be asked before we proceed, namely, how could it happen that some of the authors of our most prominent literature lost themselves in the mud to such an extent that they ignore or deny the constant antagonism between the working class and the capitalist class? Such a slip throws suspicion on the writings of such men. Therefore, let us take up the pamphlet "The Class Struggle," by Karl Kautsky, as an example. It commences with the following words:

"Modern society cannot escape shipwreck unless it reorganize itself into the Socialist Republic." After a short explanation what the term "Socialist Republic" means, he says further: "The substitution of the co-operative or Socialist system of production is in the interest not of the propertless class alone, but of the individuals in all other classes as well." A little further down he draws the following conclusion and confronts it with the real fact: "It would be thought from these premises that all classes of society, capitalists and landlords, no less than proletarians, would join in the establishment of the Socialist Republic. The reverse is the case."

The next two pages contain a lengthy explanation that the rich would have nothing to gain forthwith by the abolition of private property in the means of production, and that "not a few might be deprived also of their present ease and comfort in idleness."

These last sentences are entirely correct and clear as daylight, and one must ask himself why it is that Kautsky seemingly overlooked these facts when he made the two assertions quoted in this criticism first? Was that merely a dialectical figure constructed for the purpose of leading to a conclusion which is in striking contrast with the facts and thereby make the facts more apparent to the readers eyes? If it is only then that it may be called all right, although in teaching

the working class, plain language, which avoids all delusions, is always preferable. But let us look further. On the same page we find also the following sentences: "Indeed, so shocking are the conditions in modern society that no one who wishes to be taken seriously in politics or in science dares any longer to deny the justice of the charges preferred by Socialism against the present social order. On the contrary, the clearest heads in all the various capitalist political parties admit that there is 'some truth' in those charges," and on page 4 we read further: "The idealists are the only ones among the upper ranks of the property-holding classes whose support it is at all possible to enlist in favor of Socialism."

In these few quotations we have Kautsky in a nutshell. He knows full well that the capitalist class as such is hostile to socialism and is forced by material interest to be so, though he pleads in favor of the individual, he is even so simple and innocent that he believes that such partial admittances by capitalist politicians are meant to be honest—hostile to the working class—while in fact, they are nothing but baits and are, almost without exception, meant maliciously, and even if meant honestly, are bound to act mischievously against the working class, for it is impossible for any politician to act in favor of the working class without separating himself, first of all, entirely from the capitalist class, and second, affiliate himself with the working class movement by joining its organization and abiding in its decisions.

In writing this fact, K. Kautsky makes the mistake of his life, and in this neglect we find the root of the famous or infamous, Kautsky-Milner resolution where he gives expression to the sentimental idea that a man who delivers himself entirely into the hands of the capitalist class can still do something for the working class. This is a mistake even if applied to any other struggle, and much more so in the class struggle. He who depends on the capitalist class for his existence is bound to serve the capitalist class, and, if he tries to deny that, he is not more nor less than a traitor.

In the fact that this mistake is still endorsed by a good many socialists, who still look to lawyers and ministers, etc., as their rescuers, we find the answer to the questions raised in the beginning of this criticism. By avoiding this error we will be able to define the class struggle much more clearly, and draw a line much more sharply then Kautsky was able to do. If Kautsky's line which is drawn in the class struggle between the working class and the capitalist class must be a zig-zag line, our line will be a straight one and that is quite an advantage for us. However, with this we have outlined only one side of our movement, namely, the front against the capitalist class; as soon as we are confronted by other workingmen's organizations or other workingmen's movements we will be unable to distinguish friend or enemy on the merits of the above facts alone; we must find another guide, other facts by the light of which we may be able to draw a clear line also on this side of our movement, and thereby safeguard it against attacks from the back.

Before we take up Kautsky, what he says on that point of the subject, let us have a look at history, which may, for this purpose, be viewed best from the standpoint which suggests itself through the first three passages quoted in this criticism. First, "Modern society cannot escape shipwreck unless it reorganizes itself into the Socialist Republic. Second, The substitution of the co-operative or socialist system of production for the capitalist system of production is in the interest not of the propertless class alone, but of the individuals in all other classes as well." A little further down he draws the following conclusion and confronts it with the real fact: "It would be thought from these premises that all classes of society, capitalists and landlords, no less than proletarians, would join in the establishment of the Socialist Republic. The reverse is the case."

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each other in the struggle with nature, from whose sources it has to wrest its existence, then the conclusion would be as correct and as plain as daylight. However, that never has been.

From time immemorial men have found it more convenient to fight with their fellow men for the goods which they had produced, instead of taking up the task of producing for themselves, with their own labor. This robbery became successively such a noble business, that it was sanctioned by superstitions, called religions, and by laws.

In succession it became a sacred privilege for a limited class within each nation, or even tribe. Of course, this class was supposed at first to only rob other nations, tribes, etc., and defend their own. However, there soon began a certain struggle between this class and the other members within the community, which was very often more fierce than the struggle with other communities. This struggle has been conducted through all ages, by oratory, sophistry, decrees and laws, and with imprisonment, torture, fire and sword. Priests, politicians, jurors, henchmen, warriors, artists and scientists have been busily engaged in the fight. It was carried on as well on the economic as on every other field, with changing results, many such struggles ending with the destruction of a whole nation. To this fate every nation was doomed in which the upper, the robber class, succeeded in dowing the producing propertyless class entirely; while on the other hand, nations in which the producing class managed to keep the upper class in check, flourished and spread. With the introduction of steam and machinery in the process of production, things changed, the fight became a hopeless one for the proletariat.

In all the ages preceding the capitalist system, the wealth of the rich consisted of land, cattle, slaves and serfs. To produce goods, labor power was necessary. This labor power was mostly extracted from the slaves and serfs. The more labor power those slaves and serfs could yield the more could be produced. In fact, all their land and cattle were worthless to the rich without this labor power. They were dependent on it and consequently had to take care of it. They could not starve the producers of labor power without starving themselves. On the other hand, the producers might have been able to starve their lord without starving themselves. They had access to the sources of nature, they had the economic power in their hand. However, at that time, owing to the primitive means of transportation and communication, international understanding was impossible, and, therefore, the proletariat could not escape being robbed anyway, and, perhaps, might have been still more subdued by the hostile nations surrounding their own. They were therefore bound to their lord and only extremely dreadful treatment could stir them to rebel.

With the introduction of steam power and machinery in the process of production the lord became master. He could tie the knot which tied him to his slaves and serfs, he freed himself by freeing them; more than that, he freed himself from the dependence on the soil by becoming master of the means of production. So we see to-day, the landlords representing a distinctly separate fraction among the capitalists. The capitalist even threw away the privilege to have a larger or smaller number of proletarians bound to his person or family, but, by taking hold of the means of production and distribution, he grasped the power to starve the propertyless, and, to a great extent, also the small property holders, into submission without starving himself. The proletariat was entirely divorced from the soil, it had no access to the sources of nature, and it was left hanging in the air, so to speak. K. Kautsky recognizes this when he says on page 24 and 25: "By stripping the workingman of all property, the capitalist system of production has loosened him from his threshold. To-day he enjoys no fixed domicile, and cannot properly be said to have a home. With the merchant he has taken up the maxim 'ubi bene ibi patria'—wherever the conditions for work are most favorable there is his home. At present the migrations of the working class, sided greatly by our modern facilities

for transportation, constitute the most stupendous migration of nations mankind has ever witnessed. Of the modern proletarian it may be said with justice that he has become nomadic, and happy may he consider himself if in his peregrinations his wife and children can accompany him instead of being torn from his side.

"The same as the proletariat, does the merchant seek to become independent from his own threshold, and to let himself down wherever the interests of his business require it?"

So far Kautsky. When the working class began to realize these facts then it commenced to dispute the right of robbery altogether and by natural necessity was forced to open the fight on the political field, seeing that its members had no economic means to fight with, and then and there the class struggle commenced. This political struggle, however, is a preliminary one and serves only to gain control of the means of production, and, as soon as a point can be gained it must (like a battery) be trained on the enemy. The class struggle will never be finished unless it is finished on the economic field.

Now, let us see what Kautsky says in regard to this point. On page 11 we read: "All class struggle is a political struggle." On page 18, he refers to what he calls "Wild labor socialism" with the words: "It also was hostile to the class struggle—that is to say, to its highest form, its political form;" and on page 20, he speaks "of the highest and most intelligent form of the class struggle—the political strife." From this we might judge that the struggle described above which, was waged through all ages arose to the dignity of a class struggle as soon as it was carried over to the political field. However, another point of view is added on page 20 and 21, where he says:

"For the socialist movement and the necessary for Socialism to raise itself each other and to merge into one, it was necessary for socialism to raise itself above the sphere of utopianism. The class struggle of the proletariat acquires from that moment a different character. So long as it lacks the socialist system of production as its conscious aim, so long as the effort of the militant proletariat fails within the framework of the present system of production, so long does the class struggle move in a circle, without gaining an inch, and the labors of the proletariat to improve its condition resemble those of Sisyphus, who eternally rolled a stone up a hill never to see it roll back again, and to find himself no further at the beginning of the next day than he was at the beginning of the previous day. The abasing tendencies of the capitalist system of production are not removed, or at best they are only temporarily checked by the class struggle and its incidental victories."

From all this we might draw the conclusion that the economic struggle of the working-class is bound to move within the framework of the present system of production, while the political struggle oversteps that line and alone is able to overstep it. But with that conclusion we would have to omit the fact that the struggle of the militant proletariat that fails within the framework of the present system of production is not merely an economic one, but has its own political tail which has nothing in common with the political strife for the socialist system of production, and, which on the contrary, with its tendency to compromise for the sake of temporary benefit, is even antagonistic to the class struggle, in which every compromise with the capitalist class, or even with single members thereof would mean a giving up of the final aim in favor of a temporary questionable benefit.

Furthermore, it has been shown that the struggle for the socialist system of production only became a possibility and a necessity with the development of the capitalist system and that it was all out of question and impossible before that system. On the other hand, we see that the struggle within the framework of the present condition has not at all ceased, but rages fiercer than ever, between the producers and exploiters, on the political field as well as on the economic field; therefore, let us for clearness' sake designate this kind of strug-

gle as the struggle for existence and give the name "Class Struggle" only to that which has the socialist system of production as its conscious aim. If we do that then, and, only then, will we be able to draw a clear and sharp line all around our movement and keep everything out which is hostile or misleading in its tendency and by that safeguard it against attacks from all sides.

The fact that the struggle for existence and the class struggle are hostile to each other is even recognized plump and plain by Kautsky in the following passage (notwithstanding that he tries hard in the preceding two pages to explain it away). On page 20, he says: "No more than the utopian socialists of the upper classes were the early proletarian reformers" (and we may add also the present proletarian reformers) "able to overcome the antagonism that existed originally between socialism and the labor movement. True enough, the proletarian utopians were occasionally compelled to take a hand in the class struggle, but being devoid of any theoretical knowledge, their occasional participation in the class struggle did not mature into a consolidation of socialism with the labor movement, but in the suppression of the former by the latter. It is a notorious fact that wherever anarchism of whatever stamp, takes hold of the labor movement and temporarily enters upon the political field, seeing that its members have no economic means to fight with, and then and there the class struggle commenced. This political struggle, however, is a preliminary one and serves only to gain control of the means of production and, as soon as a point can be gained it must (like a battery) be trained on the enemy. The class struggle will never be finished unless it is finished on the economic field.

Now, let us ask: Isn't it proletarian utopianism to claim that a fight for more wages is a class struggle?

Isn't it the height of proletarian utopianism when Kautsky says on page 20: "The American workingman has every reason to wish and as far as in him lies to work for it, that the workingmen of European countries secure higher wages and shorter hours?" We need not answer these questions, we need only confront the last quotation with another one already quoted above, namely: "And the labors of the proletariat to improve its conditions resemble those of Sisyphus, who eternally rolled a stone up a hill never to see it roll back again, and to find himself no further at the beginning of the next day than he was at the beginning of the previous day. The abasing tendencies of the capitalist system of production are not removed, or at best they are only temporarily checked by the class struggle and its incidental victories."

Now, what else can we say?

There is a simple way of showing what happened yesterday. Democrats lost 120 votes since the election last month; Addicks gained 72. If all the Prohibitionist and Holiness votes (27) and also all the anti-Addicks votes (62) had gone over to Addicks, his ticket would still have had a plurality of only 483, instead of 406 as the count indicates. Many Democrats were prevailed upon to stay at home; and here are at least thirteen of them who voted for Addicks's Republican, for no reason but him.

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* A CRITICISM OF A WOULD-BE SOCIALIST CRITIC *

WITH SOME EXAMPLES OF THE WAY JOURNALISM MISREPRESENTS SOCIALISM.

A Correspondence in Three Chapters.

Chapter I.

Special to *The Daily and Weekly People*.
Lincoln, Neb., December 30, 1902.

Inclosed find a clipping from the Omaha World-Herald, containing contribution from Rev. John Williams of that city. I also inclose an answer I sent to that sheet about December 1, which they held until December 28, before publishing at which time they inserted an abridgement, cutting out about one-sixth of the matter. I have underscored the parts the editor cut out.

This sheet is the Yellow Journal of Nebraska and its owner, Hitchcock, was elected to congress from the Omaha district on the Demo-Pop ticket, last fall.

Under the department styled "The Public Pulse," this sheet purports to give space for a public forum and in it most any old thing goes, hence we were led to hope that possibly we might be able to run the editor gauntlet in the interest of our movement, but alas we got smeared as all other socialists do, sooner or later, who tamper in any way with any of the "Tar Babies" of capitalism. It will be a long time before I will be caught in this way again.

Fraternally,

H. S. Aley.

Chapter II.

[The contribution referred to above]

"Production and Wages."

"Omaha, Nov. 28.—To the Editor of the *World-Herald*: The socialists say, both with pen and tongue, that the employer of labor receives six-sevenths of all that labor produces, and the laborer but one-seventh. They quote Carroll D. Wright in support of this statement. I do not here call in question either the truth of the statement or the fact that Mr. Wright makes it. But the statement itself is as extraordinary, and so apparently opposed to facts as they seem to exist, that not only does it seem to be necessary that we should be given the exact reference to the report and page where Mr. Wright makes this statement, but also that the proof of its truth, if he does make it, it does not appear to be true in our every day experience. No manufacturer in our own city, no corporation really engaged in productions, no corporation, indeed, of any kind, no contractor of any sort, no master workman who employs one or more persons to work for him, no trader, no banker, no farmer, no publisher, no employer of any sort, appears to be making 85 per cent of all that is produced by labor. It is not immediately observable in things as we see them about us at all events. For if true, no employer of labor need ever go into bankrupty. It may be true in some scientific sense, if we trace the finished products of labor back to their source, in the ground from which the raw material of every product comes; and by counting the profits of every employee of labor until the consumer is reached. Presumably Mr. Wright has been that, by taking the estimated aggregate value of all that is produced in this country, and then the estimated sum paid out for labor in producing it, and so arrived at his results. If he has done that, he must leave out of view, of course, the value of land and machinery, of everything which we as yet regard as fit objects of private ownership. And yet to a very large extent these things are the product of long years of personal toil and fret on the part of their present possessors.

"It is very true that Proudhon and other socialists regard private ownership as public robbery; and so the thoroughgoing socialist will not count the labor of the farmer himself, and of his wife and children, as a lawful factor to be counted in the cost of production; nor will he count the value of the personal labor of the multitudes of the producers, who work side by side with the men they employ, or their years of mental toil and oftentimes heart-break in their struggles, first for a mere support for themselves and their families. All these are robbers; their labor, their mental worry, their oftentimes breakdown must not be counted in the estimate of cost. It is not "waged." They are robbers, 'reaping where they have not sown and gathering where they have not strown.' At all events, this is the way the matter is represented in Socialist oratory and literature. On the street corners, and in Socialist literature, employers of labor are represented indiscriminately as a band of ruthless robbers who are upon the necks of the working class to plunder them of the chiefest part of what they produce. Our whole social and industrial system may be wrong, but then to represent the employer of labor indiscriminately as a band of robbers is to lie against the truth, to stir up envy and strife and every evil work. Let it be granted that many employers, that the heads and chief men of the great corporations fall into the category of "robber barons," yet they are but a small minority of the whole body of employers. And those we can control and bring into absolute subjection to the state, to the socialist body. If we made only a tithe even of the civic virtue we would need to carry on, necessarily, the 'social commonwealth.'

"Let me ask your Socialist subscriber to show in what sense capital is receiving compensation of the product of labor. What is meant by capital? Just how is capital receiving the enormous profit on its investment?"

"I grant, sir, that the times are very much out of joint: that things are not as they should be; that franchises are given away without any sufficient accruing benefit to the public; that stocks are watered to an enormous extent, and revenue is collected, not on the capital invested simply, but by a flagrantly fictitious valuation of capital actually invested. I grant that greed and avarice abound; that many of the captains of industry are insolent beyond measure; that evils exist which need correction. But if we are to wait for the removing of those evils until the socialists can persuade or compel all those who have anything to divide evenly with those who have nothing, we shall wait until the coming of the Greek calendar."

"If we have not the civic virtue to-day, then every man holds the ballot, either to weed out the trusts, if that be necessary, and the public corporations, or to come in the public interest, then we

have not a tittle of the civic virtue that would be necessary to maintain the stability of the 'Co-operative commonwealth,' that socialists of the Marx and Engel type dream about; a commonwealth without God. "It is true that all socialists are not anarchists in the ordinary meaning of the latter term, but all anarchists are socialists. They shade down from the highest form of socialist to the lowest form of anarchist; from Ketteler and Maurice and Kingsley; from Mill and Spencer and La-salle; from Marx and Engel and Proudhon down to Bakunin and Kropotkin and Reclus. What our local socialists should do is to state clearly to what school of socialism they belong. The anarchist is a socialist and not always an assassin in fact or in purpose. For example, the present general editor of the local socialistic organ was a few years ago an avowed anarchist and is still I doubt not. But he repudiated assassination as a means to achieve his end. He was then and is now a socialist, also. Karl Marx repudiated assassination as a means of securing the co-operative commonwealth, but he was an anarchist in ultimate purpose as every follower of his is to-day. Primarily, anarchism does not mean the absence of government or even the assassination of rulers. It only means what the word signifies: Government without an archon or single head, the substitution for this of the government by the commune, whose ever shifting will is to be the law for the whole community. If the socialistic commonwealth of Marx means anything else, I am unable to see it. And the vast majority of socialists in Germany, France, England and America are after the school of Marx. The socialists of Russia, Spain and Italy are chiefly, if not altogether, disciples of Bakunin. Their end is the same; they differ only as to the means of reaching the end. They both contemplate the taking by force of all private property and vesting its title and possession in the commune. 'Property is robbery' is the dictum of Proudhon, and practically the 'International' in all its subdivisions, believe that. In investigating against capitalism they do not mean simply the capitalism of trust, or of the public corporations, but the private ownership of a single foot of land, the labor of every individual man who makes his own tools, raises his own raw material, and fashions and sells his finished product, and retains the profit for himself. The man is lost in the commune, absolutely subject to the will of the commune, whatever that may be from day to day. That is the philosophy of socialism as held by the International, as taught by Marx. If the commonwealth of Marx means anything else, I confess I am unable to see it. And the vast majority of the socialists of Germany, France, England and America are of the school of Marx. The socialists of Russia, Spain and Italy are largely followers of Bakunin and Kropotkin. But they are all socialists and all anarchists. They differ as to the means to be employed to usher in the social commonwealth. Practically they are all communists with variations, even when masquerading under the less offensive title of collectivists. I leave out of this category the Christian socialists and the state socialists.

"The strength of the International lies in the haughty pride and greed and luxuriance of the privileged classes, just as it did in the days of the French revolution. If the latter be allowed to go uncured, I have not the slightest doubt but that sooner or later the former will crush it and usher in a reign of terror. The socialists are wise in their generation when they welcome the reign of the Baers, and the Morgans, and the Harrimans of the age, and want nothing done to restrain them.

JOHN WILLIAMS."

Chapter III.

[Being an answer to the above communication.]

A CRITICISM OF A WOULD-BE CRITIC.
Editor of *The World-Herald*:

Under the head of "Public Pulse" in your issue of November 28, 1902, is an article by the Rev. John Williams, entitled "Production and Wages," in which he attempts to knockout the philosophy of Socialism in one round. *Seldom have we seen in the same limited space, more misrepresentation than the writer croads into his article.* One of the first things an honest critic will do, is to thoroughly post himself upon the subject he has set himself to criticize, but in this his contribution he gives no evidence to show that he has spent one moment in studying the subject from a fundamental standpoint as he totally ignores the three main points upon which Socialist philosophy rests its claims, viz.: (1) "The materialistic conception of history"; (2) "The class struggle"; and (3) "The source of surplus value." It is the work of small minds to quibble over non-essentials and exceptions. In our opinion the writer who sets himself up as a critic of any philosophy and then totally ignores the fundamentals of that philosophy, places himself in anything but an enviable position. No where in this article does the writer show that he has ever read, *thoughtfully*, one of the writings of Marx, Engel, Bebel, Ferri or any other Socialist whom Socialists recognize as authority upon this subject. Practically every indictment set forth by him, is against a figment of his own imagination and proves to our mind that he is entirely ignorant of the writers he so freely cites or that he wilfully misrepresents their true ideas on the social question. One who confounds the scientific teachings of Karl Marx with the idealistic rantings of Proudhon, would do well to spend a few days comparing the latter's "Philosophy of Misery" with Marx's criticism of the same—"The Misery of Philosophy," and he will then be able to see clearly the distinctive difference between science and sentiment also in this instance between Socialism and anarchism as propounded by the master mind of each philosophy. Would the writer learn the distinctive difference between the writings of Marx, Engel and Lassalle—true men of science in the domain of sociology—and the writing of the Utopians—Owen, Blane, St. Simon and others, let him read Engels' "Utopia to Science." As a member of the Socialist Labor Party since October, 1895, I have been a diligent student of the literature of that organization as well as of the writings of Marx, Engels and other recognized Socialist writers in this

and other countries and at the same time I have read the Utopian writers from Owen and Kingsley down to Bellamy as well as the works of Proudhon, Kropotkin and other Anarchist writers; hence I claim to know something of the distinctive difference between these three philosophers, and I hereinafter charge the writer of the above named article with being either ignorant or dishonest in this his tirade against the teachings of Socialism.

Had the writer contended that the Christian church—especially the Protestant, the religious exponent of capitalism—and the teachings of Anarchism both center in the same idea, then he would have stated a proposition that is capable of actual demonstration and that central idea is the doctrine of introspection or self-purification. Both these philosophies are individualistic. Both teach that from the perfect individual, only, can the perfect environment be evolved. In the trial of the Chicago Anarchist, Fielding, in his defense, said in substance that the (the Anarchists) believed in order without force; that it was possible to so educate the individual comprising society, that they would do right for the sake of right and not because they had to. In strange contrast to the individualistic teachings of both these, stands the teachings of scientific or Marxian Socialism, having for its guiding star the materialistic conception of history which in turn teaches that man is a creature of circumstances, the product of his environment and that his environment, in the last analysis, is determined by the economic or industrial structure of society at that time prevalent. With this conception as its beacon light, it holds to the idea that the perfect man will evolve from the perfect environment and not the contrary as Christianity and Anarchy teach. The disciples of Marx are not responsible for the inability of the critics of Socialism, to comprehend their philosophy; neither can they, justly, be held to account for the rantings of every sentimental who chooses to call himself a Socialist and the Rev. Williams only shows his gullibility in taking these men seriously, and citing them as disciples of Marx.

No Socialist authority, worthy of the name, has ever contended that the capitalist (and by that term I mean one who uses his wealth or a portion of it, to exploit, either directly or indirectly, one or more members of the working class, through the wage system) first hand, exploits his employees of six-sevenths of the product of their toll: but they do contend, and are able to prove their contention, that the capitalist class do, through the wage system, exploit the proletarian class of all that they produce over and above a mere subsistence and at the same time we cite capitalist statistics to show that the degree of exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class is about 85 per cent. In the *Youth's Companion* for February 8, 1900, Lyman Gage, ex-secretary of the United States Treasury, makes the statement that the wealth produced in the United States in the previous year equalled sixty billions of dollars. On a basis of 75 million population this gives \$800 for every man, woman and child in the United States, but the census of 1890 shows that only one-third of the population are engaged in production and distribution, or in other words, doing the useful or social work of society; this would give as the yearly production of each producer \$2400. Now as the average wage of the 20 million wage earners in the United States is about \$300 per year, or one-eighth of the total product as given by Gage, the question naturally arises who gets the balance of that which the working class produces, but does not get? The prime question, however, is not as to the per cent. of exploitation of the working class by the capitalist class, but the question in the mind of every Socialist is, why should the class that does the useful work of society be exploited at all. Our critics would do well to devote a little time to answering this fundamental question instead of quibbling over non-essentials. Socialists contend that labor produces all wealth, in fact that not one dollar of wealth ever came into existence or ever will come, save by the action of human energy (intellectual or physical) on natural resources, and while they do not deny, in fact even admit, that the middle class farmer and business man have done and are now doing useful work for society, are producers in the true sense of the word; they at the same time maintain that the dominant wealth of to-day is produced by wage earners, and by dominant wealth they mean the wealth that is being brought into existence by the collective effort of this class in the factories, mines and other industries that are owned and controlled by the joint stock companies, in fact by that class who in 1890 comprised 9 per cent. of the population and owned 71 per cent. of the nation's wealth. We think it safe to say that at least 75 per cent. of the above sixty billions was produced by wage earners and that to-day 80 per cent. of all wealth produced in the United States is created by this class, the balance being produced by the dying middle class, the class that is rapidly becoming obsolete.

Socialists admit that at one time in the history of society, private property in the means of production and distribution, was truly moral but that time was during the days of small individual production, before the advent of the modern factory and labor-displacing machine. At that time its private ownership insured to the worker the full fruits of his toil as the owner and operator was one and the same. On the contrary, to-day, the tool of production has become so complex and has assumed such gigantic proportions that its ownership often involves millions of dollars and its operation requires hundreds and many times the collective effort of thousands of individuals. To-day while the tool of production is owned individually its magnitude is such that it has to be operated collectively and it is through this individual ownership of the tool, that it operated collectively, that the ones who do the work are robbed of all that they produce over and above a mere subsistence wage. To prevent this robbery the system of ownership must be made to harmonize with changed method of production and distribution that has already become collective. Hence we contend that the private ownership of the tool

of production to-day is immoral as it spells robbery.

Any change in the present social system, that leaves intact the basis of proletarian servitude, only, tends to aggravate the misery of this class, hence Socialists maintain that in the present stage of social development in the United States, and other countries as fully developed as is this, that all who stand for the perpetuation of the wage system are enemies to social progress and in favor of slavery no matter how much they may prate about "civic virtue." Our philosophy teaches us that in the above joint stock industries and all large capitalist concerns, that all the work, from top to bottom, is done by wage earners and that the stockholders in these concerns are parasites, as they do no useful work. As a class they are a supernumerary organ on the body social. The writer contends that the followers of Marx and Engels propose to establish a Godless Commonwealth and it might be pertinent to ask him to tell us what he knows about the God of Capitalism, i.e., describe his attributes, tell us what he looks like, where he is located, etc. Should he fail to do this any one who is interested in the subject will find a full exposition of it in Paul Lafargue's "Religion of Capital," which with the other works mentioned above, may be had of the Labor News Company, 2-6 New Reade street, New York city.

The Rev. Williams, like all men of his profession, is great on magnifying faults of the individual and he even goes so far as to admit that there are some very wicked capitalists and, in his opinion, chief among these sinners stands Morgan, Harriman, Baer and the other trust magnates. He even goes so far as to admit that "times are very much out of joint, that things are given away without sufficient accruing benefit to the public; that stocks are watered; that greed and avarice abound," etc., but he forgets to point out that the working class are not robbed by fraudulent franchises, watered stock nor by any of the hundred and one methods adopted by the capitalist class in their efforts to secure the major part of the fleece that has already been stripped from the back of the proletarian class. The workingman is being robbed but at one point in the economic circle, viz., where he goes to sell his only commodity—his labor power—therefore, he should not be interested in any of the reform schemes that tend in any way to prevent one class of capitalists from cheating another. It is only the un-class-conscious proletariat who is fooled into supporting such issues. In criticizing these trust magnates he shows his middle class instincts and we venture the assertion that his principal pew-holders belong to this class that is rapidly being swallowed up by the Morganized industries. His remedy for existing social ills is self-righteousness, in other words, his and the Anarchists' means for regenerating society are one and the same.

We contend that the middle class having accomplished the mission set by destiny for it to do, has now practically become obsolete, and that under the operation of the law that all force follows the line of least resistance, it will soon be swept off its feet as a class and will be swallowed up in the only useful class in modern society, i.e., the proletarian class.

In brief, our thesis is, that man in the last analysis, is dominated by his material interests and not by his ideals. He may have beautiful ideals but if these conflict with his material interests, in other words, the means by which he secures his livelihood, the rule is for him to set aside his ideals and, for the time being at least, that which will make the bread and butter product secure. Not only is mankind so dominated to-day but such has been the rule since the advent of private property in the means of production in the hands of man gains his livelihood.

Man must first eat before he can have ideals. In short it is the economic structure of society, that, in the last analysis, determines the course of history. The above does not imply but what in all ages, there has been individual exceptions to the above rule. Christ, Socrates, Giordano Bruno, John Brown and Owen Lovejoy, were magnificent examples of men who were even willing to die for their ideals.

This materialist conception of history was first set forth by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the Communist Manifesto of 1848. This as we have said, is the first of three propositions on which the philosophy of Socialism is based. The second is based upon a recognition of the economic class struggle from the advent of private property down to the present time or in other words that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, that each time ended, either in revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes." To-day this class struggle is between the capitalist class and the wage earning class and the basis of this class struggle is the wage system, that in turn grows out of the private ownership of the modern tool of production. Our contention is that it is impossible to harmonize the interest of the man who works for wages and the man who pays him the wages, as the one is interested in getting the full fruits of his toil while the other's interest is to see that he, the wage earner, does not get all that he produces; for should he, where would the employers' profit—surplus value, the true source of all capitalist accumulations, come in? Under existing conditions in the United States, the tool that the capitalist class places in the hands of the proletarian class, enables the latter to create sufficient wealth in one and one-half hours to reimburse the capitalist class for the wage received, in other words, "their keep" and the balance of the day, of eight or ten hours as the case may be, is devoted to creating surplus value for their masters, the capitalist class. Their labor power is sold as a commodity and as such its price is regulated by the law of supply and demand which, coupled with the fact that the supply of this particular commodity always exceeds the demand.

In the statistics of crime some special points may be noted. The youth, as compared with adults, have committed more crimes as society has developed. Suicide among children has greatly increased; this might be regarded as a symptom of disease precociously. The less cost of living and the increase of meat and potatoes and the tendency toward less solid and staple foods. "The less cost of living and the increase of meat and potatoes," continues Dr. MacDonald, "or you may become a criminal."

He claims one of the reasons for the increase of crime is the decrease in consumption of meat and potatoes and the tendency toward less solid and staple foods. "The less cost of living and the increase of meat and potatoes," continues Dr. MacDonald, "or you may become a criminal."

If we shake the tree the bad apples fall first. So in period of rush and strain the weaknesses of human nature become more apparent. But this increase in evil may be only a temporary one, due to the necessary pressure of adaptability to modern civilization."

REMEMBER
"MOZLE"
CIGARETTES

Monthly People

Ten Cents a Year

Methods of agitation necessarily adapt themselves to the seasons. The out-door meetings, the street-corner chats of warm weather have been followed by indoor agitation and indoor work. In the shop, in the home, in the hall, each and every comrade can do effective service in securing subscription to Party papers and disposing of Party literature. The special inducements offered in December for the one sending in the largest number of subscriptions to the *Monthly People* spurred on the workers.

Comrade Julius O. Johnson of Bridgeport, Conn., offers a year's subscription to the *Daily People* to the person sending in the largest number of subs to the *Monthly People* during January.

To Comrade Johnson's offer the management of the *Monthly People* will add a collection of excellent Socialist books; in fact, a small Socialist library.

This means that the one sending in the largest number of subscribers to the *Monthly People* during January, 1903, will receive:

The Daily People for one year.
Capital, by Marx. Cloth binding.
The Paris Commune, by Marx, Arm and Hammer Series. Value, Price and Profit, by Marx. Wage Labor and Capital, by Marx. Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, by Engels. The Socialist Almanac.

Should the winner prefer, he may, instead of the above books, select books, amount of \$5, from the catalogue of the New York Labor News Company.

In addition, a comrade offers a free and complete course in typewriting, at the Waldo Typewriting Company's establishment, 18 West Thirty-fourth street, New York city. to any one sending in the largest number of subscriptions to the *Monthly People* between the first day of January, and first day of March, 1903, both dates inclusive. Subscriptions reaching the People office before January 1 and after March 1, 1903, are not within the scope of this offer. The winner may assign, sell or transfer the prize here offered to any person.

A Colorado sympathizer will pay for one year's subscription to the *Daily People*, to be given to the person sending in the largest list of subscribers to the *Monthly People* from the State of Colorado, between January 10 and February 10, 1903, both dates inclusive.

Among his New Year's resolutions every comrade should include one pledging himself to do all in his power to increase the spread

WEEKLY PEOPLE

2, 4 and 6 New Reade St., New York.
P. O. Box 1576. Tel. 129 Franklin.

Published every Saturday by the
Socialist Labor Party.

Bundle rates: Less than 100 copies, 1 cent a copy; 100 to 500 copies, 1/2 cent a copy; 500 or more, 1/4 cent a copy.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York post office, July 13, 1900.

As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned, if so desired, and stamps are enclosed.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888.....	2,060
In 1892.....	21,157
In 1896.....	36,564
In 1900.....	34,191
In 1902.....	52,895

A SPECIMEN FROM THE QUARRY.

The Labor papers from Chicago reflect a strong movement under way in the ranks of Union Labor to set up Clarence S. Darrow as its candidate for Mayor in the approaching municipal election. The move, or thought, fitly headed by one of these papers with the question: "What shall we do to be saved?" is, in the domain of social science, what a fine mineral specimen would be to the mineralogist.

When mass-poverty had, relatively and absolutely touched in Rome the point of discontent, perpetual up-bubbling and threatening, all the physical conditions were at hand for a social overturn. The overturn did not come. What kept it off? The utter class-unconsciousness, in other words, the psychologic unripeness, of the physical element by which alone the revolution could have been accomplished. The conclusive sign of this fatal unripeness was the poise of the masses on the head of leadership. To use their own terminology, they looked for "a man of senatorial rank" to lead them. In other words, the vigor that only a consciousness of their own class could impart, was absent. This quickening force being absent, the potentially revolutionary element relied, not on elements within, but on elements without its own camp "to be saved." The issue was that, catching at the straw of one sentimental leader "of senatorial rank" after another, the Roman masses finally developed into a pliant war-horse, ridden by the Caesars.

In reaching out beyond their own camp for Clarence S. Darrow "to save them," the working class masses of Chicago are following in the footsteps of the Roman plebs. Mr. Darrow, the present counsel for the miners, is essentially a sentimentalist. He is of that sympathetic class, among the well-to-do and professional men whose heart does more bleeding for the woes of the workingman than its head does thinking in the workingman's behalf. It was via the Gracchi that the Caesars came. The road that leads over the Darrow must be blocked: at the end of the avenue stands, ready waiting, the Man on Horseback.

It is no pedantic turn of mind that pushes the S. L. P. to preach unremittingly, and insist upon keeping clear the line of demarcation between class interests; nor yet is it yearning for physical conflict that directs the Party to fan the flames of class antagonism. Just the reverse: pedanticism revels in phrases that argue likenesses where none exist, and nothing but sorrow flows from blindness to facts. Class-consciousness not merely renders the working class intelligent, above all it quickens among them that sense of self-respect and self-reliance, without which they would be just so much dead weight for the Socialist Movement to carry and Socialism would be impossible, but with which the workingman becomes fit to carry the Socialist Movement, fit for emancipation.

ALL ROADS LEAD TO ROME.

At the reassembling of Congress Senator Mason is to introduce a bill "in the interest of the public" so as to give relief in future emergencies or strikes. The plan is simple. So simple that it recalls Columbus' trick of standing an egg on end. It is to empower the Federal Attorney General, "in the name of the public," to apply to the courts for the appointment of a receiver, who SHALL HAVE THE POWER TO GET OUT THE COAL AND SELL IT, PAY THE MINERS AND MAKE A PROPER ACCOUNTING THROUGH THE COURTS TO THE OWNERS.

All roads lead to Rome. The old adage here receives as up-to-date as it is a brilliant application.

The "Rome," which the capitalist class seeks to reach, is amleness of wealth—for themselves. This is a goal attainable only by the road of keeping the working class down, compelled to labor at a minimum. The common highway towards that "Rome" is becoming less and less passable. Macadamized as it is with the Macadam of the fiction "Freedom to labor," it has become impassable at spots. The Macadam did well at one time, but it has worn out; the wheels of the capitalist wagon sink deep in the puddles that time and weather have worn into the thing. Such an "impasse" occurred last summer when the miners refused to work under the grievous conditions imposed upon them by the operators. As election was on, the miners had an unparalleled opportunity to win out, which is to say, to block the capitalists' progress to their Rome. But there was another road to Rome, and it was timely seized. With the aid of John Mitchell, the capitalists succeeded in inducing the miners to surrender, and return to work under the identical conditions that they had struck against. The "inducement" was an Arbitration Commission, but that, as is becoming plain even to the blind, was but a blind. It was but "another road to Rome."

Now, this road did well enough as an emergency road. But it has many inconveniences. Senator Mason proposes another road, and it certainly will lead to "Rome" with the directness of an arrow. The moment a strike breaks out, the Attorney General applies for, and, of course, obtains a receiver of the concern struck against. The receiver, a FEDERAL OFFICER, BACKED BY ALL THE PHYSICAL FORCE OF THE GOVERNMENT, then proceeds to run the concern and PAY THE WORKERS. — what workers? Why, those who will work under the conditions struck against. Not for nothing will that receiver be a Federal functionary, with all the Armies and Navies and Courts of the Nation at his call.

What Mitchell will now arise to serve as a Labor Sign-post, and point out this Mason road to the Working Class, and thus again switch them from the forth-right of Socialism?

TOSSING 'EM ON A BLANKET.

An article in the "Bakers' Journal," on the "Socialist discussion" and vote at the late New Orleans convention of the A. F. of L., and bristling with points, is making the rounds of the trade journals. Two of these points merit mention.

The first point goes to confirm the views, often expressed in these columns, that the hurrahs of the Socialist party, alias Social Democratic party men, on the score of "the large vote that their resolution got," are the merest bunkum. The "Bakers' Journal" states that "the Socialist politicians" were, by reason of that vote, given "a prominence quite unwarranted by actual facts and sentiments." And it proceeds to convey the valuable information that the original resolution was whittled down by the "Socialist politicians" so as "to make it suitable to all tastes" until it became "a very harmless affair." Accordingly, so far from the said "large vote" being, what it has been termed in some quarters, "a lie given to the Socialist Labor Party theory," it, together with all that thereby hangs, is just what The People has all along claimed: the regulation farce comedy "Boring from Within," which is annually performed on the stage of the A. F. of L. conventions by certain schemers as the leading actors, backed in good old classic style by a chorus and semi-choruses of the fatuous and the designing.

The next point made by the "Bakers' Journal" is supplemental to the first:

Approach the subject as you may, by opening the doors of trades unions to party politics you will have to let in all parties for there is none that has not the welfare of the working class upon its program. Now trades unions have the mission to unite all workers for the purpose of pooling their strength....on questions having passed the state of theoretical discussion.

Who, what holds this language?

Why, one of those pure and simple organizations, whom the above referred to "Socialist politicians" speak of as "noble wagers of the class struggle."

And what is more, this organization voices accurately the sentiments of its whole kith and kin. Here, then, we have organizations, that claim to be limbs of the working class, and who,

in this year of grace 1902, still consider the class interests of Labor as not yet "having passed the state of theoretical discussion!" who placidly look upon the economic-political issues raised by the parties of capital as questions that, once they shall have passed the "state of theoretical discussion," may yet form a part of the pool on which it is the "mission of trades unions to unite their strength"!

The trades union theory advanced by the "Bakers' Journal" supplements its exposure of the "Socialist politicians." It explains why, and it justifies the ill concealed contempt it has for the set by placing them in line with the capitalist parties. Men who will presume to handle so revolutionary a question as Socialism, and who resort to the quack doctor's artifice to ingratiate themselves; who, on the top of that, pursue the patent medicine man's craftiness of seeking advertisement by "endorsements"; and who cap the climax by the cowardly act of supporting with their vote the arch-adversary of their "principles" for president, and by the dishonest act of themselves accepting an election as "representative" abroad of a body that, if they are sincere, they can not act as a representative of;—such men are fit only to be tossed on a blanket, as the "Bakers' Journal" neatly does the "Socialist politicians."

THE ON-COMING "UNION CARD."

The move of the United States Steel Corporation, to turn its employees into stock-holders, has been quickly adopted by the Pressed Steel Car Company. In more or less amended form, the move is essentially the same.

Is the move a sporadic one? Is it, perhaps one limited to just one, the iron and steel industry? Or does the plutocratic stage, that upper capitalism has developed into, and which brings and has brought the magnates of all industries into one camp—the financiers camp, around one green table—the banker's table, denote that the move will be general?

Of course, as yet, sufficient facts are not in court to justify a positive conclusion. Nevertheless, such facts as are in, together with such signs as the projected mammoth cigar factory in Chicago by the Tobacco Trust, where "none but union men are to be employed," warrant the risking of a theory.

The on-coming "Union Card" is to change complexion. It will cease to be a 3x5 inch bit of paste-board or booklet, and will become a "Certificate of Stock." Wide-reaching will be the results thereof.

Hitherto the "Unionman" paid his dues to the Union officer. In many cases the employer is now acting as the collecting agent. The funds thus collected have to be turned over to the Union. The "Certificate of Stock" card will obviate all that was herein objectionable to the employer.

First. The "Unionman's" dues will henceforth cease to run into the Union's treasury: they will run straight into the employer's bank.

Second. The labor-lieutenants of the capitalist class are side-tracked.

Third. The bond that will hold the "Unionsmen" together in their "noble waging of the class struggle" will be the galley slave's emulation: fear of being cut out from dividends, enthusiasm in converting as much life tissue as possible into dividends.

Statistics of Labor Bureaus will bulge with tables demonstrating, to the fraction of a decimal fraction, the upward-bound prosperity of the working-men." From being, as they once were, propertyless men and women "giving a color to the vicious Socialist theory about classes," things will be shown to have changed so materially that now "the workingman" has taken his place by the side of the capitalist, and the interests of both vibrate in unison in the stock exchanges of the land."

Finally the warring theologies will quit their wrangles. Sects will disappear. The Messiah being an intangible magnitude, disputes concerning him are bound to spring up. Being present, sensible to feelings as to sight (at least statistically) the new Messiah will be acknowledged by all. Peace and happiness will reign on earth. And the token will be new the "Union Card." Who would refuse jumping on the bandwagon? Who would still "croak"?

Not for nothing have great things been prophesied for the 20th Century.

REMEMBER
"MOZLE"
CIGARETTES

CONTENTED DELAWARE.

Little Delaware has just been "convinced from center to circumference." What about? That's the rub.

On Tuesday, the 30th of December, there was a bye-election in one of her Districts for Representative to the Legislature. It was an election to break a tie; the constituency is small; the office at stake insignificant. For all that, the event was notable.

Last November the voting in the Kent county Ninth Representative District for the Legislature resulted in a tie. Had the issue of the election been any otherwise, it would not have had any determining effect on the "one great issue" before the Legislature and the whole State. That "one great issue" is Addicks.—J. Edward Addicks, a Bay State Gas Company magnate.

Addicks aspires to a seat in the United States Senate; has a following as a nominal Republican; has, of course, "regular" and "irregular" competitors; though he leads on joint ballot, yet he lacks the requisite majority for an election. The result has been a deadlock. This result has carried others in its wake.

During the dead-lock to fill the vacancy aspired to by Addicks, a second vacancy occurred in the Delaware representation in the United States Senate: the slogan that quickly went up on both sides turned on Addicks: it was "Addicks, or Delaware's two seats in the Senate shall remain vacant," and "No Addicks, or Delaware's two seats shall remain vacant."

On top of this second dead-lock, other dead-locks have followed, and more are threatened: Both sides threaten to block up all legislation, unless they succeed in electing or defeating Addicks, as the case may be. And thus the merry fight has gone on for years.

Looked at impartially, there is no difference whatever between Addicks and any other United States Senator, the sentimental Hoar of Massachusetts, perhaps, excepted. Like Addicks, they are all rich capitalists, and aspire to become richer. Like Addicks there is not one of them whose wealth was not attained by ways and means neatly suggested by the distich:

The higher the plum-tree, the riper the plum;
The richer the cobbler, the blacker his thumb.

Like Addicks, they all seek to dignify the pig-sty source of their affluence and power with the Senatorial mantle, and, inversely, to turn the Senatorial mantle into mere dollars and cents. Finally, just like Addicks, they all have their "machine," and use it for all it is worth. All this notwithstanding, inside and outside of Delaware the anti-Addicks sentiment has wrapped itself in the cloak of morality and holiness. Their pose is that of Crusaders enlisted on a sacred mission of "purifying elections," with Delaware as the Peter the Hermit in this 20th Century "Down on the Unclean Infidel" movement.

In most other States, the SPIRIT OF DISCONTENT has more or less raised its head. More or less blind, as yet; more or less intelligent, the rejuvenating Spirit is there. DISCONTENT is a symptom of physical, intellectual and moral virility. It is a spark that, tho' it may flare up into devastating conflagration, is alone capable of shooting up into the flame that purifies, the flame that consumes the decaying vegetation of a dying social order, and warms into growth and vigor, rich foliage and fruit, the vegetation of a new social order. Where there is DISCONTENT, there HOPE is. Inspired by the fire of the former, buoyed up on the wings of the latter, in most other States, the nucleus is gathering of men and women determined to resist the incubus of POVERTY, groping to find the way out, resolute to grapple with the problem, resolute to solve it. And thus, while all around them, the mephitic gases of corruption, emitted by those with whom POVERTY has cracked the springs of physical, intellectual and moral virility, hover at political campaigns, this rebel, DISCONTENTED nucleus stands out as a rainbow promise of the Future, and illuminates the field—illuminates it in the measure of the virile intelligence of their discontent.

It is in view of all this that the recent Kent county Ninth District bye-election has its significance. Addicks was short six votes on joint ballot. One more vote in the Legislature would not change results. But "each vote counts," and so the fight was bitter: "Honesty" and "Dishonesty" showed the teeth to each other. And what happened?

At the November election there were four tickets in the field: the Addicks Republican candidate with 424 votes, the Democratic candidate with 424 votes, the Regular Republican candidate with 34 votes, and the Prohibition candidate with 27 votes. Of these four, the Prohibitionist party is essentially a religious party. It consists mainly of Holiness men—an extreme branch of Methodists whose special effort is to "spread holiness." And now came the bye-election.

What became of the "Holiness men"? They vanished. What became of the sanctimonious "Anti-Addicks," or "Regular Republicans"? They vanished. And what became of the "sturdy Jefferson Democrats" who turned up their noses and passed the other way at the very mention of a Republican, an Addicks' Republican especially? Well, they did not quite vanish. The election returns tell the whole tale: Only two tickets turned up. The Addicks candidate, whose poll rose from 424 to 496, and was elected; and the Democratic candidate, whose poll dropped to 304. Who furnished the 72 votes that Addicks' man got? Was it the absentee Democrats? or the absentee Regular Republicans? or the absentee Holiness men? or did all of these "chip in"?

Delaware may be little. But at times littleness may be great. Delaware illustrates the point. In her confines there is not a ripple or what is called "discontent." The Single Taxers once tried to start the ripple there, but failed. Delaware is "contented." Unstirred, even by cat-saws-paws of the outside storm, that is rising and portending a new era via new issues, "contented" Delaware, like Parades' virginity, "breeds mites, much like cheese," and is proud of it.

Another professor has discovered that Rockefeller's money is tainted and therefore cannot be morally used in education. That is good, but it is not enough. To say that Rockefeller should be condemned for "underselling poor men, crowding them out of business and immediately raising the price of the very wares, which they would not allow other men to sell," is to look at the matter from a middle-class-consumer's standpoint. It implies a desire to see the little man re-established. This is reactionary and would prove of no benefit, for were the poor men given an opportunity they would undersell Rockefeller and do the same as he. This is due to the inherent nature of their business. They only differ from Rockefeller in degree and not in kind. What is wanted then to complete the professor's discovery is the fact that Rockefeller must be replaced by Socialism and the immense economic benefits of his industries diverted from him to the working class.

The newspapers are again pointing to the growth in national banking as an index of the prosperity of the country. Frank Vanderlip, a recognized authority on banking, has shown that this growth is mainly due to the conversion of trust securities into bank collateral. He has shown that in the concentration of industry the owners of the plants combined have been paid in stock largely in excess of the true value, and that these stocks have been deposited in banks and accepted by them as collateral. Thus, according to him, this growth is due to the great movement toward trustification, and is to a great extent fictitious, in that it is based on over-capitalization. When, then, the newspapers say that this financial growth is an index of the prosperity of the country, we are compelled to state the facts. The capitalist class is not the country. It is but 2 per cent. of the popula-

tion off that parasite mistletoe which city people will buy at Christmas. Again:

The other polling-booth was in a tenement close by a sawmill, at Farmington. About it over against the sawmill stood silent groups of tenant farmers. Very few were not of the "po' white" class familiar in Southern States—with bear light eyes, scant, scraggy beards, marks of improper nourishment and of physical degeneracy. Addicks's Senator, rosy, excellently dressed, director in several Bay State Gas companies, stood near, in front of them. He might typify to their dull eyes the splendor of Addicksism. Men left the polling-booth by the back door, stood awhile among their neighbors by the sawmill, then disappeared. "They were paying them off in the sawmill."

Again:

An old reputable citizen told this story: "A man came home one night in November and said: 'This is the only coat I have. My children have none. I have no shoes. My wife hasn't had a new dress for I don't know how long. Tonight they offered me \$25 for my vote. I refused it; I'm going to vote as I think; but I felt like I needed somebody to tell me 'That's right, stick to it.' So I said to him: 'Stick to it, Bill, and God bless you. And after election we chipped in and bought some shoes for his children and a present for his wife. But we can't meet bribery with bribery, nor even with rewards of merit. We are not rich in Delaware. It's awful, what this one man Addicks has done to our people. Twenty dollars is a terrible temptation to flash before poor men like these at a time when no money is coming in. They are getting to expect it now, whichever way they vote. They have been depraved."

In the picture of misery, drawn by the above descriptions, there is nothing new, or exceptional: just such poverty is known to exist from New York across to California. Nor is the picture of the political corruption, that misery pinches man to, one peculiar to Delaware: from California back to New York, such scenes are the invariable accompaniment to elections everywhere. It is not, however, the case that all that, between the conditions that are being revealed by Delaware campaigns, and the conditions revealed by campaigns in most other States, there is a difference as deep and as marked as there is between the Dismal Swamp and fields, that, though submerged, are pregnant with rich pasture and forest growths, struggling into sunlight and life.

In most other States, the SPIRIT OF DIS

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will at their own risk name to their communications, hide their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.

The News announces a "Special Prosperity" edition of the paper at New Year's. Notwithstanding this the charitable institutions are assisting "the needy poor." Comment unnecessary.

Militant.
Tacoma, Wash., Dec. 22.

Another Prize for Monthly People Workers.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—George Fred Williams, one of the most prominent of the radical wing of the Democrats in Massachusetts, has openly espoused the cause of the Socialist party, and will devote his time and ability to its upbuilding."—(Appeal to Reason, November 22, 1902, eighth page, fifth column).

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This statement was brought to my attention by a friend as a proof that the Multi-Nominal party was growing in influence and power, and as the "Appeal to Reason" is used by the Kangas as campaign leaflets this statement probably influenced a large number of Democrats to vote the so-called Socialist ticket in the city elections, as some of them believe in and worship the man regardless of what the principle he is standing for represents.

Knowing this I wrote Mr. Williams, and quoted the statement at length. I also added: "This is very important, and you should either affirm or deny the same; the reason why I call your attention to the above statement is because of its significance."

I enclose Mr. Williams' reply, this will help clear up the matter.

"Boston, Dec. 22, 1902.

"Mr. Jeremiah Devine,

"North Abington, Mass.

"My Dear Sir:—Pardon my delay in answering your favor of the eighth. The statement made in the Appeal to Reason was without justification in fact. I have announced my intention of fighting the coming year for the Democratic organization, and, of course that would be entirely inconsistent with a decision on my part to 'openly espouse the cause of the Socialist party.'

"I have not denied this statement because I never deny newspaper falsehoods.

"They are so many in number that I should be kept answering them all the time if I should undertake it, so I leave them to be answered by my record. Very truly yours,

George Fred Williams."

Thus, Mr. Williams refuses to allow his record to be sullied by the "Socialist" (?) party—and I do not blame him.

Of course every one knows that the Republican and Democratic parties are corrupt—rotten to the core, but as bad as they are—the Multi-Nominal party are worse.

This letter of Mr. Williams is also a proof of how reliable (?) such irresponsible capitalistic papers are—they trade upon the reputation of men who have a large following.

Perhaps it would be well to suggest to Mr. Wayland that he mount his bronco, and take his lariat—and round-up Teddy, Mark Hanna, Civic Federation and all—as the members of that infamous body believe in "organized labor," especially when they are able to control it, as it ignores the class struggle. Besides Teddy is "a good union man, and almost a Socialist." By acting upon this suggestion the Kangas could secure harmony and unity between Mark and Teddy. They would also have a strong organization, and could fight the Socialist Labor Party to a greater advantage.

It is the object of the "Socialist party" now, as it ever has been to put the only working class party out of existence and this is the basis upon which they could unite.

Recently the paper referred to stated that "during the coal strike the miners of Pennsylvania were confined in barracks similar to the one that was established in Idaho"—but it did not advise its readers to read "The Story of the Bull Pen."

Why? They are afraid they might antagonize other parties—and to quote from one of their speakers during the late campaign, Harding (one of them) said: "We do not want to antagonize those who do not agree with us."

Need more be said?

Jeremiah Devine,

North Abington, Mass., Dec. 29, 1902.

Tacoma's Special Edition of "Prosperity."

To the Editor of The Daily and Weekly People:—The following ad. in the Tacoma Evening News appeared lately:

"RUMMAGE SALE.

"The ladies of St. Peter's church will hold a rummage sale in the Longshoremen's Hall on Thursday next, etc., etc."

Having their curiosity excited thereby, two comrades of the Socialist Labor Party decided to investigate. They found heaps of women's clothing strewn on tables, second-hand dresses, hats, shoes, underwear, etc. There were also broken and cracked glassware, dishes, pots, pans, stoves, bits of carpet, "springless" wire mattresses, crippled bedsteads, musty bed ticks, and other old junk, that a rag-picker wouldn't carry away. On another table were dilapidated toys, books and curios, which the children of the capitalist class, no doubt, had cast aside. The ladies explained that all this was for "the needy poor."

A Joplin (Mo.) man objected to his minister's remarks and smote him therefore. He evidently was a church militant or should we, in these Rooseveltian days, call him a strenuous Christian?

It has been found that the power of the Railroad Commission to relieve the crush on car cars is unlimited. Commissions in general are only unlimited in their usefulness to the capitalist class.

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LETTER-BOX**Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.**

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry bona fide signature and address.]

N. S. BOSTON, MASS.—How can you blame the S. L. P. for not being "agreeable"? Would you have it be agreeable to men plotting to scuttle the Labor Movement?

J. A. H., FESTUS, MO.—You made a mistake not to pull up short after your fourth line. By filling six pages with your drivel you have tickled our curiosity to know what unholy scheme of yours we have smashed.

J. N. SEATTLE, WASH.—1st. The advice of the S. L. P. to the disfranchised black workers in the South is to organize in the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and rest on their arms ready to join their as yet not disfranchised Northern and Southern fellow wage slaves when the time comes.

Rest next week.
The person sending in the highest number of subscriptions may, if he or she elect, assign, sell or transfer the prize herein offered to any person he or she may desire. Socialist.

NOTE—We are not at liberty to publish the name of the comrade making this offer but can guarantee it.

"Socialists" as Crooked in Belleville, Ill., as Elsewhere.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—I herewith give the record of the Socialist party or whatever they may call themselves in this city. In 1900 Debs, the great strike breaker, spoke here under the auspices of Trades Assembly, receiving \$125 for his little talk. During his talk he did not mention Socialism at all but told the workers to join their respective trades unions as that was the best weapon to get a fair day's pay.

In April this year I noticed in the Chicago Socialist paper that a charter was granted to Belleville with John Wachter as organizer. I went to see this John Wachter and ask him about it, which he said was true. Later in the fall I saw him and asked him if they intended to get any speaker here. In reply he said they would not, as he did not see what good he could do for them, as we, the S. L. P. members, would throw slurs at their speakers and call them fakirs.

In the fall election Wachter was out working for Carl Montag, a Democratic candidate for county clerk, and said he would vote for no one else. In the election the Socialist party fell from 100 votes in 1900 to 9 votes this year, and did not receive a vote in the first ward, where this John Wachter lives, though he is still credited as being organizer of Local Belleville in the Chicago Socialist.

On December 18 the Builders' Exchange locked out all the union men in the building line. The reason given is because the bad carriers refused to carry bricks made by Ittner's brick yard, which is run by non-union men, the union men having gone on a strike there about three years ago. The builders say these same bricks (by Ittner's) are being carried and laid by union men in East St. Louis and St. Louis, and they want the same privilege that those bosses are getting.

Walter Goss.
Belleville, Ill., Dec. 30, 1902.

Monthly People Takes Well in Scot-land.

To The Daily and Weekly People:—Here with enclos. find my little quota of subscribers to your new enterprise, The Monthly People.

There are eleven in all, with money order for \$8. 2d., which, I think, covers their subscriptions for one year. They are all young men and non-Socialists and have each paid their own 20 cents, some adding a little to cover the price of the money order.

Allow me to offer my congratulations on the adoption of such a splendid idea for furthering Socialist propaganda.

The price hardly allows of a refusal, while the acceptance lays every honest and reasonable workman open to the possibility of becoming a class-conscious Socialist and a weapon against the brigand class that club and rob them. I will use my best endeavors to get as many more subscribers as I can and will send them on either myself or through the librarian at the S. D. B. club room here.

W. Walker,
Edinburgh, Scotland, Dec. 22, 1902.

A Present And a Defense.

To The Daily People Christmas Box.—Please find postage money order to the above mentioned box. I hope every member in the party will donate whatever little they can for our party press is certainly first at all times. Without that we could do very little, and I only regret, however much it is true, that not every one of the comrades can send The People one day's earnings.

I am sorry to learn the much unexpected news about N. L. Grist, and I believe that much of it is founded upon imagination of people who have not personally known Grist. I have known him since 1898. The first time in Denver and I will say that at that time and after his trip in the East, he was no more of a faulk than the very people who now brand him as such. I am willing to admit that Grist has made a fakir of himself by his late doings and deserves to be exposed but, while in the movement he was full of courage and enthusiasm, which he proved more than once during his active years here in Colorado and he kept the movement clean, which was also shown after the battle in 1890.

I believe we should expose all members like Grist who have gone back on their own principles but, in doing so, I believe we should confine our saying at least to the truth; don't you?

Neil Anderson.
Gladstone, Col., Dec. 28, 1902.

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OFFICIAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry W. Corbin, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—W. S. Corbin, Secretary, 70 Colborne street, London, Ontario.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY—2-6 New Reade street. (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice.—For technical reasons, no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p.m.

NEW YORK STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

A regular meeting of the New York State Executive Committee was held in the Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, on December 22, 1902, at 6 p.m. Brauckmann in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting were adopted as read.

Letters were received from Yonkers, Schenectady, Johnstown and Watertown on routine business.

A report was received from Comrade Carroll about his work in Brooklyn respecting subscriptions to *The Monthly and Weekly People*.

Sections and members who have campaign lists are urged to send them in at once.

The committee on pledges to liquidate the indebtedness on The Daily People plant reported that \$350.82 had been pledged up to that date, of which \$281.82 had been paid thus far. The list of pledges and payments follows:

Pledges

Previously acknowledged	\$354.82
H. Werdenberg	1.00
J. Newman	1.00
Ottie Barthel	5.00
Henry Baumau	1.00
John Donohue	5.00
H. Hoffman	1.00
F. Rappa	1.00
34th A. D., N. Y. city	5.00
R. Thorne	1.00
Julius Wolff	1.00
Joseph Harlow	5.00
Mrs. L. Leroux	2.00
H. Muller	25
H. Dollinger	25
G. Thibault	5.00
A. Picquart	1.00
Paid.	\$380.82
Previously acknowledged	\$214.32
H. Baumau	1.00
John Donohue	2.00
H. Hoffman	1.00
Fred Rappa	1.00
34th A. D., New York	5.00
Owen Cananner	2.00
P. Garryott	5.00
Peter Jacobson	2.00
32d and 33d A. D., New York	5.00
Sec. Monroe Co., New York	11.00
Gustav Delz	1.00
Richard Haas	1.00
Julius Wolff	1.00
J. H. Sweeney	5.00
Dr. R. S. Fones	25.00
Mrs. L. Leroux	2.00
Henry Muller	35
H. Dollinger	25
George Thibault	5.00
F. Werdenberg	1.00
A. Picquart	1.00
Total...!	\$291.82
Adjournment followed.	
Emil Mueller, Secretary.	

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA

The regular meeting of the N. E. C. was held December 20; Comrade J. W. Pearce, chairman, and all members present.

The minutes of last meeting were adopted as read.

C. Announcements: From Du Vernet acknowledging receipt of check for \$50. From Comrade Connolly, statement of expenses the treasurer reported having paid his bill upon presentation; another letter was received from Connolly concerning an overcharge in the bill submitted. It was decided to write the national secretary of the S. L. P. of the United States, asking for an explanation in matters pertaining to this account. From Comrade Woodley of Toronto, re the success of the Connolly lecture and other matters. From Section Hamilton, giving itemized statement of the expenses of Comrades Readhouse and Lazarus to Brantford, Ont., July, 1902, showing a balance of 45 cents belonging to the N. E. C. still in their possession; also asking if vehicles, etc., used in the outdoor propaganda at the time of the arrest in Hamilton, would be paid for with the defense fund. The N. E. C. decided to reply to this communication that in view of the Hamilton case having cost \$100, and only \$86.35 having been raised on the defense fund, this fund is overdrawn \$22.62 and that the N. E. C. cannot pay the expenses of Section Hamilton's propaganda work and that Section Hamilton and all other sections must direct and finance their own work in the future; and further, that the N. E. C. would like Hamilton to explain their method of carrying on a section without due stamps. From Section Brantford, Ont., due stamps, etc. From Comrade C. L. Johnson of Slocan, B. C., re leaders and pamphlets, secretary instructed to reply.

Reports: The financial report showed receipts since last statement were \$3.50, expenses \$4.50.

The treasurer was instructed to prepare and submit a full report of the receipts and expenditures of the Hamilton Defense Fund.

It was decided to send to Sections Hamilton, London and Toronto their respective bills in connection with the Connolly tour, asking for immediate payment of same.

Comrade Pearce, having volunteered to supply the N. E. C. with the names of the members of the defunct Section St. Thomas, the secretary was instructed to write them, asking them to become members-at-large, or if possible, to reorganize a section.

Philip Courtney, Recording Secretary.

London, Ont., Dec. 30, 1902.

DISTRICT ALLIANCE 10, S. T. & L. A.

District Alliance 10, S. T. & L. A. held its last regular business meeting in the headquarters of Section Lynn, 26 Munro street, on Sunday, December 28. Delegates were present representing Mixed Shoeworkers' Alliance, L. A. 267, of Lynn; Mixed Alliance, L. A. 330, of Salem; Weavers' Alliance, L. A. 368, of Plymouth, and the Socialist Labor Party.

The following Locals were not represented: Machinists' Alliance, L. A. 185, of Boston; Weavers' Alliance, L. A. 373, of Lawrence, and Shoeworkers' Alliance, L. A. 387, of Marlboro.

Comrade Thomas Brennan, of L. A. 330, was elected chairman, and Comrade John W. Ryan, of L. A. 267, recording secretary pro tem.

The records of the previous meeting were approved as read.

Comrade Dan reported that the com-

mittee elected to devise ways and means of raising funds for D. A. 10 had not held a meeting yet.

Comrade Michael Tracy, delegate from D. A. 10 to the S. T. & L. A. Convention recently held in Hartford, Conn., reported the proceedings of the convention. The resolutions presented to the convention from D. A. 10, calling for the abolition of the S. T. & L. A. label and that none but wage workers can be members of the Alliance, had been carried.

Communication received from L. A. 368, of Plymouth, regarding conditions there and sending tickets for sale; accepted for file.

Bill of Comrade White for \$20 accepted and ordered paid.

Bill of Comrade Tracy accepted and ordered paid.

Financial report of Secretary-Treasurer Box accepted and ordered turned over to the auditing committee.

Bill of Comrade Frank B. Jordan for \$2.50 for expenses to and from Plymouth accepted and ordered paid.

Delegate from L. A. 368 reported that Comrade Powers of D. A. 17, of Providence, had addressed a large audience of weavers in Plymouth. L. A. 368 is getting new members and desire to be transferred from D. A. 10 to D. A. 17.

The organizer was instructed to communicate with the G. E. B. stating the request of L. A. 368 and asking that they be transferred to D. A. 17.

Comrade Gallagher, of the S. L. P. Entertainment Committee, was given the privilege of the floor. He stated that the Entertainment Committee desired D. A. 10 to elect a committee of three to act in conjunction with them to raise funds.

Voted, to lay the matter on the table until the next meeting.

Voted, that the election of officers be laid over until the next meeting.

John W. Ryan, Rec. Sec. pro tem.

SPECIAL CHRISTMAS BOX.

Up to Saturday, January 3, \$192.15 were received for this fund. We shall now consider it closed. Several comrades have written that they intend to devote one day's wages to the Party. If they do so we shall credit the amounts to The Daily People Special Fund. The following is the list in full:

Special Christmas Box.

C. Pollard, San Antonio, Texas	\$ 5.00
A. F. W. city	3.00
Joseph Schaefer, city	5.00
Andrew Sater, city	2.50
Max Heyman, city	5.00
P. Wegener, city	.75
N. Zolinsky, city	2.80
J. H. Jersey City	5.00
J. E. Brooklyn	2.00
H. W. Brooklyn	2.00
S. J. F. city	2.00
E. Moenel, city	2.00
H. J. Schade, Los Angeles, Cal.	2.00
Albert Johnson, city	10.00
Section Milwaukee, Wis.	25.00
Oliver Maury, Milwaukee, Wis.	1.00
T. Horn, Milwaukee, Wis.	.50
Chas. Minkley, Milwaukee, Wis.	1.00
John Kelly, city	3.00
Pat Quinal, city	3.00
W. Garrity, Akron, Ohio	1.50
M. J. Quick, Saugus, Mass.	1.00
Walter Gilpin, Hoboken, N. J.	1.00
G. G. Anton, Philadelphia	4.00
C. G. Davidson, St. Paul, Minn.	5.00
G. Willrich, Buffalo	2.50
John Plamondon, city	1.00
Henry Gols, city	.50
Adam Moren, city	1.00
L. Orange, city	6.75
J. Keenan, city	3.50
C. Bosse, city	3.00
Robert Downes, city	2.00
Eber Forbes, Yonkers	1.00
H. A. Schoeps, Union Hill, N. J.	1.00
28th A. D., city	5.00
J. Henry, Paterson, Pa.	1.00
Morris Weis, Brinton, Pa.	1.00
August Clever, Braddock, Pa.	1.00
A. E. Norman, Los Angeles, Cal.	5.00
I. Sweeny, Weehawken, N. J.	1.00
L. Abelson, city	2.00
J. White, Salem, Mass.	1.00
A. Picquart, city	1.00
R. H. McHugh, St. Charles, Mo.	6.50
E. Romay, Paterson, N. J.	3.00
J. E. Alexander, Albany	1.00
Section London, Ont., Canada	10.00
Axel Gerdin, Sarnia, Ont.	1.00
J. Kaucher, Shawnee, Ohio	2.50
C. Christensen, Boston	2.00
John Lindgren, Brooklyn	1.50
John Donohue, city	2.00
Joseph Lutzenhaus, city	2.00
Sec. Worcester, Mass. (col.)	2.25
F. Metzger, Paducah, Ky.	2.50
A. Williams, Paducah, Ky.	1.00
John Lidberg, St. Paul, Minn.	1.50
Jos. Mueller, Denver, Col.	5.00
Sympathizer, St. Louis, Mo.	1.00
R. Sweeny, Louisville, Ky.	1.00
Jacob Schwank, Jersey City, N. J.	1.00
E. Singewald, So. Norwalk, Ct.	1.00
Chas. Fink, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
D. Rudnick, Fullerton, Col.	1.00
Nels Anderson, Gladstone, Col.	3.00

\$ 192.15

G. E. B., S. T. & L. A.

The newly elected General Executive Board, of the S. T. & L. A., convened January 1, 1903, 12 o'clock M. Present comrades:—John J. Kineally, general secretary; August Gilhous, general treasurer; David Olsen, Wolf Okra, Samuel J. French and Otto Bartels. Absent and excused: John Plamondon.

Comrade William L. Brower, retiring general secretary, installed the members present.

The board then went into executive session. Comrade Olsen was elected chairman.

The books and property in possession of the retiring board were turned over by Comrade Brower to the new board.

Resolved, That a committee of two be appointed to audit the accounts and take an inventory of the property of the board. Committee: Olsen and Kineally.

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